

Message Text

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 MADRID 0587

FOR S/PRS

DEPT PASS NSC AND WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN
AND ALL NATO CAPITALS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: SEC VISIT PRESS REACTION KISSINGER'S VISIT

CATHOLIC ORIENTED AND LIBERAL YA FRONT PAGE UNDER HEADLINE

"SIGNING OF THE SPANISH AMERICAN

TREATY" FEATURES PICTURES OF KISSINGER WITH KING, WITH ARIAS

AND THE SIGNING CEREMONY WITH AREILZA.

INSIDE LEAD NEWS STORY OFFERS HIGHLIGHTS AND TEXTS OF

TREATY, ALONG WITH NEWS STORY DETAILING KISSINGER'S SCHEDULE

AND REPORTING HIS AND AREILZA'S ARRIVAL STATEMENT.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COLUMNIST LUIS APOSTUA, UNDER THE

HEADLINE "THE LUSITANIAN SONG, WROTE:

THOSE WHO DO NOT KNOW EITHER ENGLISH OR DIPLOMACY MAY

HAVE THE TEMPTATION TO TRANSLATE THE MADRID SPEECH OF MR.

KISSINGER IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:

"DO NOT PORTUGALIZED OURSELVES AND EVERYTHING WILL GO WELL."

IN CONNECTION WITH THAT IDEA, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS

SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED ITS POLICY WITH RESPECT TO MADRID, WHICH

UP TO NOW WAS A MARGINAL AND ROUTINE POLICY ANCHORED IN OLD

CONCEPTS OF THE "COLD WAR."

NOW THE NORTHAMERICAN GOVERNMENT ACCEPTS THE IDEA OF

ELEVATING THE "FRANWORK AGREEMENTZ REACHED MONTHS AGO TO THE

LEVEL OF A FORMAL TREATY TO BE RATIFIED BY SENATE AND THE

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CORTES. ALTHOUGH MR. KISSINGER POINTED OUT IN BRUSSELS, ON

THE EVE OF COMING TO MADRID, THAT IT IS NOT A "DEFENSE TREATY".

SECOND THE U.S. IS GIVING THE RECENTLY BORN SPANISH

MONARCHY VALUABLE SUPPORT DOMESTICALLY AS WELL AS INTERNATIONALLY.

IN THAT CONNECTION, IT IS REINFORCING THE POSITION OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT IN ITS DOMESTIC BATTLE WITH RIGHT WING GROUPS BECAUSE IT IS CONCERNTRATING ITS SUPPORT ON THE CIVILIZED RIGHT WHICH IS PERSONIFIED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER, JOSE MARIA AREILZA.

THIRD, THE U.S. IS RECOGNIZING THAT THE EUROPEAN DESTINY OF SPAIN IS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND SUPPORTS ITS INTERGRATION INTO EUROPEM AT THE SAME TIME, WITH RESPECT TO NATO, IT CONCEPTUALLY ELEVATES SPAIN'S EXISTING TIES.

FOURTH, THE U.S. BROADENS ITS ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION UNDER VARIOUS RUBRICS THAT RANGE FROM EXIMBANK LOANS TO MILITARY GRANTS, WHICH WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO MODERNIZE THE AIR FORCE.

AND FIFTH, THE U.S. ACCEPTS TIMETABLES FOR THE DENULEARICATION OF THE BASES, INCLUDING THE SUBMARINESBASE AT ROTA. IT ALSO GIVES SATISFACTORY ASSURANCES THAT SPAIN WILL NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN THE ALWAYS POSSIBLE WARFARE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

WHEN VICE PRESIDENT FRAGA DEFINED, BEFORE THE CORTES, THE PRESENT SITUATION AS A NEW "CANOVISM" AND NOT AS "CAETANOISM", HE WAS NOT FAR OFF FROM HAVING THE SAME IDEA AS THE NORTH AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE. IN FACT, IF WE CAN GAIN SOME LESSONS FROM PORTUGAL, TO MY UNDERSTANDING, IT CONSISTS IN THAT REFORMS POORLY MADE ONLY SERVE TO AGGRAVATE THE PROCESS OF DECOMPOSITION OF THE PRECEDING SITUATION AND FURTHERMORE, THAT A COUNTRY IS MODERATE AND BEHAVES AS IT DOES ONLY "AS YOU ALLOW IT TO BREATHE ITS OWN AIR."

THERE IS NO BETTER OCCASION FOR THE VISIT OF MR. KISSINGER THAN THIS SATURDAY WHEN THE PROGRAM OF REFORMS OF THE GOVERNMENT IS BLOCKED IN THE CANYON OF THE COUNCIL OF THE REALM. WILL IT BE THE ROLE OF THE ABLE SECRETARY OF STATE TO PLAY THE "SEVENTH CAVALRY" WHICH IN ALL THE MOVIES OF JOHN FORD SAVED THE TRAPPED WHEN THERE ONLY REMAINED 15 MINUTES OF THE FILM?

THE IDEA WHICH ONE GUESSES IN THE CHANGE OF NORTH AMERICAN DIPLOMACY WITH RESPECT TO SPAIN (A CHANGE WHICH WILL HAVE ITS MULTIPLES EFFECT BECAUSE THE USA HAS SO MUCH INFLUENCE IN EUROPE,) IS INCONGROUS WITH A REGRESSIVE INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION. IN THE SAME WAY THE U.S. WAS INTERESTED IN AN INTRANSIGENT FRANCOISM THAT DI NOT CREATE PROBLEMS, NOW THEY SEE MORE FUTURE UNCLASSIFIED

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FOR MUTUAL RELATIONS IN A SPAIN THAT HAS TAKEN OFF FROM ITS AUTOCRATIC FORMS AND WILL NOT BE CARRIED BY SIDE-EFFECTS, TO WARD THE COMMUNIST BEACH.

ANOTHER YA POLITICAL COLUMNIST, BARTILOME MOSTAZA, UNDER HEADLINE, "AT LAST, A TREATY," OBSERVES: FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE, YESTERDAY'S DATE WILL HAVE DEEP CONSEQUENCES FOR SPAIN. AT LONG LAST, THE OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN ATTAINED OF A TREATY BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES. IT IS TERMED A TREATY OF "COOPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP," BUT THE MILITARY ASPECTS HAVE THE MAXIMUM IMPORTANCE IN THE NEW INSTRUMENT. IT PROCEEDS FROM THE "TREATY OF DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES," OF JULY 19,1974." IN IST FORM, THE NEW TREATY IS A "FRAMEWORK" WITH IN WHICH ALL ASPECTS ARE SPECIFIED: ECONOMY, DEFENSE, EDUCATION AND CULTURE, SCIENTIFIC AND TECH-

NOLOGICAL RESEARCH, AGRICULTURE. EACH OF THESE SUBJECTS IS DEALT WITH IN ITS REPECTIVE "COMPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT". AND THE DECISIVE ROLE IS GIVEN TO THESE COMPLEMENTARY AGREEMENTS OF DEFINING AND MARKING EFFICIENT THE STATEMENTS MADE IN THE FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT. A KEY PIECE OF THE NEW RULES APPLICABLE TO SPANISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS GOING TO BE THE STANDING COUNCIL WHICH IS CREATED (ALSO BY MEANS OF A COMPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT) TO MAKE THE AGREEMENT WORK. IN ADDITION TO A SECRETARIAT, THE COUNCIL WILL HAVE A COMMITTEE FOR EACH AREA AND WILL EVENTUALLY BE ABLE TO APPOINT "AD HOC" COMMITTEES IF NECESSARY. THE COUNCIL WILL MEET AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH TO SEE HOW THE TOTAL SYSTEM OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES IS WORKING. IT IS TO BE NOTICED THAT IN THE NEW TREATY IT IS TAKEN FOR GRANTED THAT IT "STRENGTHENS WESTERN DEFENSE." LIKEWISE, THE TWO PARTIES WILL TAKE CARE TO "COORDINATE THEIR DEFENSE COOPERATION " WITH NATO'S AND THIS IS STATES EXPRESSLY AND REPEATDLY IN THE TEXT OF THE TREATY AND OF THE CORRESPONDING COMPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT".

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ALL NATO CAPITALS.

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4396

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FOR S/PRS

DEPT PASS NSC AND WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN
AND ALL NATO CAPITALS

THE NEW RULES WILL BE IN FORCE FOR FIVE YEARS. TIME ENOUGH TO FIND OUT THEIR ADVANTAGES AND DRAWBACKS. NOW THINGS WILL BE DONE "ON THE BASIS OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY" AND OF /BALANCED BENEFITS". THE CONCEPT OF "RECIPROCITY" -- A CONCEPT THAT WE CONSIDER ESSENTIAL IN ANY INTERNATIONAL PACT -- APPEARS WHEN REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE REGULATION OF ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE PROBLEMS. ALL THE SAME, THE WORDING OF THE TREATY SUFFERS PERHAPS FROM BEING TOO ELUSIVE, OR TOO ENUNCIATIVE, IF THAT EXPRESSION IS TO BE PREFERRED. BINDING TERMS ARE AVOIDED OR SHUNNED. THAT IS AT LEAST THE IMPRESSION ONE GETS AFTER A FIRST

READING. IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO WAIT
AND SEE HOW MATTERS SHAPE UP. THE TEST WILL BE WHEN THE
NEED APPEARS TO COMPENSATE FOR DAMAGES. A REPETITION OF PALOMARES
WOULD BE SHAMEFUL. IT IS NOT ENOUGH THAT THE ECONOMIC AID HAS
BEEN DOUBLED IN RELATION OT WASHINGTON'S PREVIOUS OFFER. IT
IS NECESSARY TO THINK THAT SPAIN WILL BE RUNNING A RISK
HAVING FOUR MILITARY BASES - OF INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE --
IN HER TERRITORY. IT IS TRUE THAT IF A CATAclysm EXPLODED,
NOBODY AND NOTHING WOULD LEAVE US OUT OF IT IF WE BEAR
IN MIND OUR STRATEGIC-LOGISTICAL SITUATION IN THE CROSSROADS
OF TWO OCEANS AND TWO CONTINENTS."

NUEVO DIARIO, WHICH WAVERS BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE AND LIBERAL,
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HEADLINES ARTICLES AND EDITORIAL EMPHASIZE U.S. SUPPORT TO
SPAIN, NATO LINKAGE AND DENUCLEARIZATION. SAMPLE HEADLINES:
"U.S. SUPPORTS ROAD UNDERTAKEN BY SPAIN"; "K: SUPPORT TO SPAIN";
"BESIDES A TIE WITH NATO, TREATY SIGNIFIES END TO ATOMIC PRESENCE."
IN BRIEF COLUMN, FEDERICO YSART ASSERS THAT FRUITFUL
NEGOTIATIONS ONLY POSSIBLE AFTER KING'S COMING TO POWER AND MOST
RELEVANT DEVELOPMENTS FOR SPAIN ARE DE-NUCLEARIZATION OF
AMERICA-USED INSTALLATIONS. HE CONCLUDES, "USA, IN AN ELECTION
YEAR SENDS FORTH A GESTURE OF SUPPORT TO THE SPANISH
CROWN. AND THE TIES WITH NATO CAN COME THROUGH THIS LINK.
NEVER, HOWEVER, HAVE THE LINKS BEEN COMFORTABLE."

"ABC" (MADRID MONARCHIST) BANNERED, FULL FRONT-PAGE STORY
STRESSING SIGNING OF TREATY AFTER TWENTY-TWO YEARS OF EXECUTIVE
APREEMENTS. LEAD EDITORIAL: "FIRST TREATY WITH THE U.S."
"A NEW PLAN IN FOREIGN RELATIONS."

"THE FIRST TREATY BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES WAS
SIGNED YESTERDAY AFTER TWENTY-TWO YEARS OF EXECUTIVE AGREE-
MENTS. THUS IT TOOK A QUARTER CENTURY TO CRYSTALLIZE
SPAIN'S OLD ASPIRATION THAT ITS RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON BE
IN TERMS OF EQUIVALENT RECIPROCITY, OF EAUAL SOVEREIGNTY.
UNTIL NOW, AND SINCE 1963, NOTHING BUT EXECUTIVE AGREEMENTS
WERE SIGNED, MEANING WITHOUT THE INTERVENTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE
BRANCH, WHICH ROBBED THEM OF THE INTRINSIC FORCE OF COMPROMISE
AND OBLIGATION. WHY DID THINGS GO THAT WAY? AT FIRST..
?3:-7 3 8, 1953 THE VERY FACT OF ESTABLISHING AN AGREEMENT WITH
THE UNITED STATES, AT WHATEVER LEVEL, TOOK US OUT OF ISOLATION
AND RETURNED US TO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. LATER, WHEN WE
COULD ASK FOR MORE -- IN FACT, IN 1963 WE ALREADY GOT CLOSER
TO THE QUASI-ALLIANCE -- WE ALWAYS STUMBLED UPON THE
PROBABILITY, PRACTICALLY THE CERTAINTY, THAT A DRAFT TREATY
WOULD HAVE MET INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES IN THE DEMOCRATIC-
CONTROLLED CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON WHEN (SUCH DRAFT) WOULD BE
PRESENTED FOR DISCUSSION, EXAMINATION AND APPROVAL. IT WAS NOT
THAT THE AGREEMENTS LACKED GUARANTEES: RATHER, THOSE CONTAINED
THEREIN WERE LESS EFFECTIVE. UNDER THESE CONDITIONS IT IS

WORTH STATING THAT THE TREATY WHICH WAS INITIALED YESTERDAY
REPRESENTS A POLITICAL BOLSTERING FOR THE SPANISH MONARCHY.
THE APPROVAL OF ITS TEXT BY THE (U.S.) SENATE -- A STEP OF
WHICH KISSINGER SEEMS CONFIDENT -- WOULD SHOW CAPITAL HILL'S
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DESIRE THT THE MONARCHY BE SUPPORTED BY THE UNITED STATES'
FOREIGN POLICY.

"MUCH WILL BE SAID AND WRITTEN IN THE COMING WEEKS ABOUT THIS
NEW BOND BETWEEN TWO INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATES,
CONSCIOUS OF THEIR INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AS WELL AS OF THEIR
OWN INTERESTS. TODAY, IN THIS HURRIED ANALYSIS
OF THE FIRST TREATY SIGNED BY AREILZA AS THE FIRST FOREIGN
MINISTER OF THE MONARCHY, WE SHALL HAVE TO PAUSE BEFORE TWO POINTS
WHICH REPRESENT TWO IMPORTANT ACHIEVEMENTS: THE DENUCLEARIZATION
OF ROTA, AND THE REFERENCE TO OUR RELATIONS
WITH THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE THROUGH THE UNITED STATES.

"THE UNITED STATES PLEDGE TO BEGIN THE DENUCLEARIZATION OF
ROTA BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1979, AND TO COMPLETE IT WITHIN SIX
MONTHS WHEN (ROTA) WILL BE A CONVENTIONAL BASE. NOW,
FOR THE FIRST TIME OFFICIALLY, IT WAS ADMITTED THAT IN 1963
SPAIN ALLOWED ROTA TO BECOME A NUCLEAR BASE, WHICH IMMEDIATELY
MADE IT A POSSIBLE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE OF THE WARSAW PACT.
THE LACK OF PUBLIC INFORMATION DID NOT PREVENT THIS POINT FROM
BECOMING ONE OF THE REASONS -- THE MAIN ONE -- OR THE UNPOPUL-
ARITY OF OUR AGREEMENTS WITH THE AMERICAN ON THE PART OF PUBLIC
OPINION.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ALL NATO CAPITALS.

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FOR S/PRS

DEPT PASS NSC AND WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN
AND ALL NATO CAPITALS

IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE TEN FOREIGN MINISTER CASTIELLA
BARGAINED HARD FOR A QUID PRO QUO, BUT THE ROOM FOR FOREIGN POLICY
MANEUVERING WAS QUITE LIMITED FOR OUR COUNTRY.
THE WITHDRAWAL WITHIN THREE YEARS OF THE NUCLEAR SUBMARINES FROM
ROTA HAS BEEN AN ELEVENTH-HOUR ACHIEVEMENT IN THE AREILZA-KISSINGER
NEGOTIATIONS. AN ACHIEVEMENT, IN TRUTH, REACHED IN THE LIGHT OF
THE NUCLEAR STRATEGY SHIFT TOWARD THE TRIDENT SUBMARINE AND
THEINTERCONTINENTAL MISSILES, JUST AS ONCE THE AIRPLANES
LOADED WITH ATOMIC BOMBS WERE REPLACED BY THE POLARIS.

"THE OTHER MAIN POINT OF THE TREATY IS THE REFERENCE, FOR THE
FIRST TIME IN A DOCUMENT WITH THE U.S., TO OUR CONTRIBUTION
TO NATO THROUGH THE UNITED STATES. IT ISN'T THAT THAT OPENS
FOR SPAIN THE DOORS TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION --
AN ADVENTURE WHICH IS QUITE EXPENSIVE AND WHICH WE HAVE NOT
REQUESTED -- BUT AT LEAST THERE IS A PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF THE
CONNECTION BETWEEN NATO AND OUR COMMITMENTS WITH WASHINGTON.
"FOR AMERICAN DIPLOMACY WE ARE ON A LEVEL OF EQUALITY WITH
THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE, BUT WE SHALL HAVE TO NEGOTIATE IN
FOURTEEN OTHER CAPITALS IF WE WANT TO ENTER IT. "THIS TREATY
OF COOPRATION, THROUGH WHICH WE WILL RECEIVE 1,222 MILLION
DOLLARS IN GRANTS, AID AND CREDITS, IMPLIES A NEW LEVEL IN OUR
RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES: ONE IN WHICH, AS HAS
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BEEN WRITTEN, THE MILITARY ASPECTS, WHILE IMPORTANT, WILL NO
NO LONGER BE FUNDAMENTAL."

NATIONAL MOVEMENT ORGAN ARriba FRONT PAGES PICTURE OF THE
SIGNING CEREMONY WITH CAPTION "AT 6:03 P.M. YESTERDAY, JAN 24,1976,
THERE OCCURRED IN MADRID THE FOLLOWING: SPAIN SIGNED ITS FIRST
TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES;
SPAIN REMOVED FROM ITS BASES THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR ARMS; SPAIN
REAFFIRMED ITS PROPOSITION OF COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION WITH
THE WESTERN BLOC; SPAIN BEGAN TO RECEIVE THE LARGEST AID THAT
THE UNITED STATES HAS LENT IT, 1.333 BILLION DOLLARS;
SPAIN RECEIVED POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR ITS FORM OF GOVERNMENT FROM
THE FIRST POWER IN THE WORLD; SPAIN SAW MENTIONED FOR THE FIRST
TIME IN AN INTERNATIONAL TREATY A REFERENCE TO NATO; THE FOUR
MILLION INHABITANTS OF MADRID, IN SUM, BEGAN TO SEE THE DISAPPEARANCE
OF THE FUEL TANKS INSTALLED AT TORREJON. THIS IS A VERY SHORT
SUMMARY OF WHAT KISSINGER AND AREILZA SIGNED YESTERDAY IN THE
PLACE OF SANTA CRUZ."

INSIDE ARriba GIVES TWO PAGES OF PHOTO PLAY TO KISSINGER'S
ARRIVAL, VISIT WITH THE KING AND ARIAS, SIGNING OF THE TREATY
AND ENSUING PRESS CONFERENCE, HEADLINED "INTENSIVE STAY."
STORIES COVER THE SIGNING, PRESS CONFERENCE, AND TEXT OF TREATY.

IN A FRONT PAGE COLUMN HADLINED "WITHOUT MORTGAGES" AN EDITORIAL WRITER DECLARES THAT "THE TREATY SIGNED YESTERDAY WITH THE UNITED STATES IS VERY IMPORTANT. THE SIMPLE FACT THAT THERE WILL DISAPPEAR FROM OUR BASES - AND WE UNDERLINE OUR - THE ATOMIC RISKS LOOKS LIKE A TOAST TO ITS POPULARITY. THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCE, SATISFACTORY. THE TERMS OF COOPERATION, VERY ACCEPTABLE. THE WILL TO IDENTIFY WITH A COUNTRY THAT PROTESTS HUMAN LIBERTIES AND HAS AS RULE ITS CONTINUOUS SELF-REFORM, PLAUSIBLE FOR OUR GOVERNMENT. THE POLITICAL BACKING IT MEANS TO THE CROWN, WORTH RECOGNIZING."

"BUT WE WOULD NOT BE IN AGREEMENT WITH THE TREATY SIGNED BY AREILZA AND KISSINGER IF IT DID NOT PROCLAIM, AS IT DOES, THE FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR OUR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD PERHAPS HAS NO PRECEDENT IN HISTORY. ITS FRIENDSHIP TOWARDS SPAIN DOES NOT FIND AN EASY APRALLEL IN A WORLD OF AGGRESIVE COMETENCE. NEVERTHELESS; UNCLASSIFIED

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SPAIN IS EUROPE. ITS CONDITIONS; ITS ECONOMY; ITS POLITICAL FORMS ARE THOSE THAT INTEREST US. AND ENTERING FORMALLY AND INSTITUTIONALLY INTO ITS ORGANIZATIONS IS OUR COLLECTIVE DESIRE, BEFORE WHICH THERE ARE SCARCELY ANY DIVERGENCIES OF OPINION AMONG GROUPS."

ZTHAT IS WHY WE LIKE AND CONSIDER IT A SUCCESS THAT THE TREATY SUPPORTS THE SPANISH WISH OT BE INTEGRATED INTO EUROPE. OTHERWISE, OUR COOPERATION WITH THE USA WOULD NOT BE NEGOTIABLE. THE GREAT HISTORIC VALUE OF THE MADRID SIGNING; BESIDES THE CONCRETE IMPORTANCE ALREADY MENTIONED IS THAT WITH IT BEGINS A NRE ERA; THAT THE MILITARY PART IS AN IMPORTANT CHAPTER, BUT NOT THE ONLY ONE, DEFINITELY, AFTER THE SIGNING SPAIN WILL KEPP A LIMITLESS FREEDOM OF ACTION FOR ITS INTERNATIONAL POLICY, WHICH WILL NOT RECOGNIZE EITHER BOUNDARIES NOR LIMITATIONS THAN THOSE REQUIRED FOR ITS COLLECTIVE INTEREST. TO THAT WE ARE REFERRING WHEN WE HEAD THESE LINES WITH ONLY TWO WORDS: "WITHOUT MORTGAGES." STABLER

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ALL NATO CAPITALS.

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